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TRANSCRIPT

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No.

PROGRAM: ABC
BACKGROUND BRIEFING

DATE:
26 MAY 1985

TOPIC:
THE CONTINUING GUERILLA WAR BEING CONDUCTED BY FRETILIN FORCES IN EAST TIMOR HAS ENTERED A NEW PUBLIC RELATIONS PHASE WITH THE RECENT RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF RADIO COMMUNICATION

Mark Aarons comperes

- Extract, Radio message, 18 May 1985, Fretilin spokesperson translation
- Extracts, ALP Conference, July 1984
  - Hon. Bill Morrison, Australian Ambassador to Indonesia
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  Translation

MARK AARONS: A song of the East Timorese resistance. The song was transmitted from a guerilla base in East Timor controlled by the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, Fretilin. I recorded it a little over a week ago at a secret transmission station in the rugged bush outside of Darwin. The small Australian army issue, single side band transmitter is the first two way link with Fretilin forces inside East Timor since September 1978. Between the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia in December 1975 and that date, Fretilin had maintained contact with the outside world via a radio run by Alarico Fernandes, Fretilin's Minister of Information and Internal Security.

When Fernandez surrendered in September 1978, Fretilin lost its ability to directly channel out information on the situation in East Timor to its supporters abroad. Since then only a tenuous and lengthy channel of written communications has existed. The re-establishment of a radio link was achieved on January 6th this year. The public announcement of its existence on this week's Background Briefing will embarrass the Federal Government which has argued for a soft approach towards Indonesia on the East Timor question. According to the government, Fretilin is a spent force in East Timor and the Indonesians are getting on with the job of development. Messages received recently from Fretilin give a different picture.

TRANSLATION OF BROADCAST:

On the 24th March 1985 Fretilin guerillas attacked two military depots on the road to Baguia between Ilalafai and the Mission of Quelicai. It caused 21 losses and one wounded to Battalion 513 which was recently constituted from Battalion 327. This Battalion is responsible for security on the road from Lospalos to ..... It is made up of two platoons, one based in each concentration camp. It was returning from an operation. Half an hour earlier, people from Ilalafai and ..... had passed along that road on their way to Mass at Quelicai Mission together with some children going to school that day. After the attack everyone on that road was detained, men and women, some with infants, and children. Over fifty people were ordered to present themselves to the District Military Command without going home first. They were starved in prison in Lospalos for about one month. Their fault, that they didn't attack the Fretilin guerilla ambush.

A few days before the attack the village head of Ilalafai a clever collaborator, detected the tracks of the guerillas near his village. He went to the nearby enemy post and informed them about it. After the attack the unfortunate village head, together with three others, were taken to Lospalos where they were submitted to electric shocks and beatings. They were accused of contacting the guerillas and supplying them with information. Four people in Ilalafai continued to be detained. They were accused of providing information to the guerillas. If you don't inform the Indonesians then you are detained. If you do inform the Indonesians you are also detained.

MARK AARONS: That's an extract from a message sent by Fretilin on May 18. Its purpose, to mark the eleventh anniversary of the founding of Fretilin on May 20, 1974. Its claims about the continuing level of fighting and the treatment of the East Timorese population by the Indonesians will arouse renewed debate in the Australian Labor Party.

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MARK AARONS (cont): Timor has long been an issue of contention in the ALP. Many in the Party feel that the Labor Government of Gough Whitlam did nothing to help the Timorese when a strong stand against Indonesia might have averted the 1975 invasion. And when in Opposition, the ALP consistently supported the right of the East Timorese to self determination, adopting a strong policy towards Indonesia on the issue.

The Hawke Government has sought to soften this approach and the question was bitterly debated at the ALP National Conference in July 1984. The official resolution before the conference greatly softened the Party's policy. It was supported by Prime Minister Hawke and Foreign Minister Bill Hayden. The left of the Party proposed a series of amendments, to preserve the strength of the earlier policy. We pick up the debate with then Member of Parliament Bill Morrison.

BILL MORRISON: (ALP National Conference) Fretilin is not, Fretilin has not ever been synonymous with the people of East Timor. And on their own record of human rights, the publications put up by you, the supporters of Fretilin in that you relayed a statement by Xanana and in that statement Xanana claimed credit for summarily executing other East Timorese. Now we're talking about the Fretilin as representatives of the people of East Timor. Even on the bloated account of the Fretilin themselves, there are no more, certainly no more than 5,000. In a population of 600,000 that represents less than one percent. One percent of the people of East Timor. It's about time that this conference faced up to some realities. And let us face it, these warm glow resolutions that come so easily to some of our colleagues here, are not going to change the situation and if your concern is for the people of East Timor, it is going to make it worse.

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BILL MORRISON (cont): First of all Indonesia regards the 1976 act of incorporation as final and irreversible. And it's not just the Indonesian position. They are reinforced in that attitude by their neighbours, ASEAN neighbours, and also I might mention because it may come up a little later, by Papua New Guinea. And support for the various recommendations put here today, the various amendments, will not assist Bill Hayden in a very difficult task he's got, but one, and I can say about him, a principled Foreign Minister's prepared to undertake, not only on behalf of Australia but also on behalf of the people of East Timor, that the carrying of these amendments that have been moved would detract from Australia's capability and capacity to play an effective role in influencing developments in Indonesia including East Timor.

MARK AARONS: A few months after making that speech Bill Morrison was appointed Australian Ambassador to Indonesia. He took up the post earlier this month. His opponents in the ALP take a very different view of the situation in East Timor. Victorian Socialist Left leader, Jean McLean.

JEAN McLEAN: (ALP National Conference) Let us be completely clear on this point. War in Timor will continue until the national aspirations of the Timorese are satisfied, until they exercise their right to self determination. In Vietnam it took over thirty years of continuous war to end foreign domination. Wars of national liberation are fought with a long term perspective. The aim of guerilla warfare is not to drive out the enemy, but to make him bleed. At present over 20,000 Indonesian troops are engaged in East Timor. They are not engaged in a hearts and minds campaign to persuade a hundred poorly armed Fretilin to surrender. They face a highly organised resistance for which widespread support of the civilians is a pre-condition. The magnitude of the current offensive is a clear measure of the strength of the resistance. This has been evidenced since late last year, and to quote briefly from a telex received from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid from church sources in Indonesia on July 8th;

JEAN McLEAN (cont): Timorese describe the present situation in East Timor as the second invasion of their territory. With no sign of an end to the war at March 12th, new battalions arrived for yet another offensive. Figures vary about the exact numbers of soldiers. Some say 23,000, others from 30 to 40,000. The soldiers are present everywhere in populated areas and along the main roads, but seldom going inland or fighting the Fretilin.

MARK AARONS: Jean McLean speaking at last July's ALP National Conference. She was supported in her views by speakers such as John Birch, who's also chairperson of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, and West Australian Senator, Gordon McIntosh. The resolution which they opposed was moved by Foreign Minister Bill Hayden. Here's an excerpt from his speech in reply.

BILL HAYDEN: (ALP National Conference) John Birch, John says with a half truth and calculatedly half truth, that the Indonesians were forced to such desperate straits last year that they negotiated a cease fire to take the strain off themselves, and then they broke it with a new offensive. That's less than half the truth. What happened was that the Indonesians last year decided to try non conflictive contact with the Fretilin forces, and it was working, it was working amazingly well, and progressively the areas where non conflictive contact was being made, were expanded. Now late last year however, a team of Fretilin troops, irregulars, entered an Indonesian encampment where the people were asleep, and slaughtered them in their sleep, murdered them. They weren't armed, they weren't guarding, they weren't alert to what might happen. They thought the understanding was intact and in those circumstances, while I don't approve of any form of violence in these sorts of situations, the Indonesians responded and they responded to that unprovoked slaughter of their own troops, unarmed troops. The dishonouring of an agreement which had been entered into. Now another dishonesty, as Jeannie McLean has claimed that there are more than 20,000 troops in East Timor. That's about twice the

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BILL HAYDEN (cont): number that I last recollect hearing, and I'm sure my information is much more reliable than hers and doesn't have the propaganda motive that is behind her sort of presentation.

Our colleague, Gordon McIntosh, refers with extravagant metaphor, to the gigantic level of opposition. He must live in a room which provides wall mirrors of illusion. I'll tell you how many troops there are. Bill Morrison says there are about 5,000 Fretilin people. That's men, women, children. At the most there would be 1,000, it's more likely 300 to 500 combat troops, irregulars, with only a couple of hundred items of armed equipment among them. And this is the gigantic level of opposition. Why engage in this dishonesty and distort this. It's East Timorese blood that's being spilt. It's not us who are putting up with these sorts of things and if you pursue this emotional bent then you'll make the situation even worse. And be clear about the situation right now. The situation right now is that the Fretilin forces, irregular, bottled up, in disarray, have been reduced to pillaging villages and harrying East Timorese citizens. The Fretilin don't represent the East Timorese.

MARK AARONS: Foreign Minister Bill Hayden. Messages sent by the Fretilin radio in the past weeks give a very different picture of the Indonesian offensive which was launched in August 1983 and lasted until early this year. In March 1983 a cease fire was reached when the Indonesian military commander in East Timor, Colonel Powonto (?) met with Fretilin leader, Xanana in the village of ..... in Eastern Timor. According to Fretilin's messages, two months later Indonesia broke the agreement when a group of guerillas was executed and others arrested. Then in June 1983, General Benny Murdani, the commander of the Indonesian army, wrote to Xanana announcing a new offensive, code named Operation Unity. In July a group of Fretilin, led by Kansio de Souza Gama met an Australian Parliamentary delegation led by Bill Morrison on the road near the village of Laga in the eastern region. Gama invited Morrison to meet a Fretilin resistance group, at what he described as the Saelari concentration camp. Morrison declined the invitation.

MARK AARONS (cont): According to the Fretilin messages, as soon as the delegation left East Timor, Gama and his party were arrested. Gama disappeared, presumed dead. It's claimed that the rest of the party was immediately executed and Saelari bombed. According to Fretilin, the attack they launched in August, referred to by Bill Hayden, was in retaliation for the abduction and rape of some Timorese women by the Indonesians. Liem Soei Liong is a member of the Indonesian political opposition in exile in Amsterdam. He's also co-author of the recently published book 'The War against East Timor'. How does he see the most recent Indonesian offensive.

LIEM SOEI LIONG: There is a war going on in East Timor and the Indonesian army is basically a kind of occupation force in East Timor. So if you talk about provoking then it's really a kind of remark of Bill Hayden, not only Bill Hayden but also in another country, some statesmen used the same expression. We here in Europe have just celebrated forty years liberation from Nazi rule, and of course if for example, I live in Holland, then when in Holland the Germans were occupying the country and some Dutch resistance fighters did something back, and fought back against the Germans, of course this is totally justifiable and totally correct to do that. If you make an assessment of this last invasion that was announced on the radio in June by Benny Murdani, General Benny Murdani used all his available strike forces. You can say that basically all the Red Berets and all the reserve strike force troops that were available, the Green Berets, were also sent to East Timor.

Still you can say, after making assessment till December 84, it resulted into nothing. Of course a lot of casualties again among the population, but as far as we can gather now, that among Fretilin leadership there were no casualties. In that sense you can say the invasion and the last offensive of the Indonesians is again a failure. So we've seen that Benny Murdani, by the end of 84 again, as a kind of tradition had to call towards the Fretilin

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LIEM SOCI LIONG (cont): leaders that they had to surrender to the Indonesians. We've seen in the past that Fretilin people who surrender towards Indonesians were brutally massacred. We've seen it in this period between 77 and 79. Of course Fretilin leaders learn from that experience that no way they're going to surrender towards the Indonesians. Fretilin is safe and sound and is still very strong. And I think it is very important every time to state this, because the impression that many diplomats and many statesmen, like you mentioned Bill Hayden, want to give to us is that Fretilin hardly exist any more. It is not true. Fretilin is still there and Fretilin is still fighting. I'm quite convinced that although the Indonesian army at the moment is making a big overhaul in this region, re-organising themself, is that the Indonesian army is able to beat Fretilin. I think that there's no way they can do it.

TRANSLATION OF RADIO BROADCAST:

Air of Independent East Timor, Fretilin. Revolutionary Council of National Resistance. Patriots and nationalists, people of East Timor, comrades at war, congratulations on the eleventh anniversary of the foundation of Fretilin. From 1979 to now the people in the occupied villages and concentration camps remember the anniversary only in their minds, and in the looks they exchange between themselves. Full of hatred against the occupiers. Only the people of East Timor can understand the meaning and anguish of these looks. Looks that express tears of mourning and of blood.

Fretilin has fought for nine years to free the country. It remains faithful to its principles and continues firmly to execute its line of action. Today in 1985, Fretilin continues to follow the objectives proposed on the 20th May 1974. To unite the people of East Timor around the ideal of national independence, to promote and consolidate the unity of all patriots, without discrimination against colour, political affiliation, religion, social position, sex or age.

MARK AARONS: Part of a message sent by Fretilin last week to mark the eleventh anniversary of its founding. How does Fretilin organise itself and its Falintal army? Liem Soei Liong.

LIEM SOEI LIONG: If you describe the military structure of the Falintal there is of course a structure of the military itself, - and there's a structure called the peoples' militia. There is difference, if you see the pictures that has been smuggled out in the period of 83, you see a difference, the guerilla squads or units are equipped with very modern weapons, surprisingly and if you check, the weapons are Indonesian weapons, in a sense Indonesian weapons, of course they are American weapons, but they are quite modern weapons. And the peoples' militia still carry the old NATO weapons, the old Portugese weapons that are from the period prior to 1975. If you talk from grass root levels, there is a structure called the Nurep, it's the nucleus of the peoples' resistance. You can say there are two types of Nureps. A Nurep is for example, somebody who is in an Indonesian concentration camp and can there function as an informer for the Fretilin forces that are in the bushes, and can organise the population in the camp. But the Nurep is also somebody who is outside the camp who makes the contact with the Nurep inside the camp. So a Nurep can be two types and this Nurep is kind of the lifeline of the most vital unit on grass roots level for Fretilin. And from this Nurep the Fretilin itself and the regular guerilla units recruit as far as I can judge from far away, there are three major Fretilin units, one on the east, one in the centre, and one in the west. And I think the one in the east where also Xanana is based, is I think the strongest at the moment. And the Fretilin units in the west is I think at the moment, you can say the weakest.

LIEM SOEI LIONG (cont): When Indonesia started to develop its hearts and mind policy as it's called, it's the same kind of policy that the Americans did in Vietnam, hearts and minds means basically that you suspect every East Timorese to be a Fretilin. And of course from the stand of the Indonesians is totally correct because a Nurep is not to be distinguished from any other villager in East Timor because he looks the same, he dresses like any other East Timorese villager. You cannot distinguish him just like that. And that's I think the strength of the breadth and the structure of Fretilin, that their structure is totally embedded within this so called Indonesian structure and the Indonesians, if they want to defeat the East Timorese they have to destroy the whole population. That's basically the story.

MARK AARONS: Before the invasion of East Timor in 1975 the leadership of Fretilin was reasonably well known. But in a major campaign lasting from September 77 till March 79 the vast majority of the leadership was killed, together with many Falintal troops. I asked Liem Soei Liong to describe the present Fretilin leadership.

LIEM SOEI LIONG: From the present leadership of Fretilin the only two that were also part of the old central committee of Fretilin, are the ones called Xanana and Mauhunu. The other leaders of Fretilin are all new people that, at least for us outside, are totally new names. Xanana and Mauhunu were already a part of the old Fretilin leadership. Xanana we know. As far as I recollect he was before 74, he was for a short period he was an official of the Portugese colonial system but very soon he got in conflict with the colonial system. He went out of the system and he kind of worked for himself as a small repair man for bicycles and so on. In that period he got involved in Fretilin [illegible]. His early years in Fretilin was also already in the eastern sector and he very soon became commander of one of

LIEM SOEI LIONG (cont): the Fretilin of the Falintal units and from there on you can say he's moved up slowly until the big disaster in 77-79, Xanana emerged as you can say the person that kind of assembled again the left overs of the old Fretilin and kind of gave the new life and new input to what we call Fretilin nowadays.

From the new leadership the one that's kind of mentioned the most in the last few years is a fellow called Moek (?) Muruk. Moek Muruk is the one that Indonesian soldiers fear very much because Moek Muruk is the one that has encountered in many battles with the Indonesians and Moek Muruk has never been captured and has caused a lot of casualties among Indonesian soldiers. As far as I've heard information from the Indonesian side, when they are on patrol people whisper Moek Muruk is in the neighbourhood. Among the East Timorese and also among the Indonesian soldiers this fellow is invincible. The other fellow that is also from the old leadership is ..... Mauhunu and Mauhunu is I think more known as the man who is responsible for a part of the documents and part of the information that has been channelled out through the outside world, Mauhunu is presumably one of the people that you can say is one of the brains, one of the ideologists of the new Fretilin, together with Xanana of course.

MARK AARONS: On Monday May 20 at a little after 8.00 a.m., a voice crackled out of the small speaker of the single side band radio in Darwin. The voice declared itself to belong to Mauhunu, member of the Fretilin central committee, deputy chief of staff of the Falintal army and responsible for the eastern military sector. The first contact between the new Fretilin leadership and the outside media had been made.

There have been many allegations that the Indonesians have been conducting systematic campaigns that violate the human rights of the East Timorese. Could you give an assessment and some facts about what the human rights situation is like in East Timor?

MAUHUNU: Berri berri, tuberculosis, and malaria complement the hunger in the villages. People without money are unable to get treatment. At any rate they refuse to go to the Indonesian doctors as they simply give them Complex B. This has resulted in many death as occurred in Viqueque. Indonesian doctors inject drips into pregnant women who go to them for treatment, despite the protests of the midwife and nurse who see her, who qualified during the Portugest colonial times. The people from Venilale who were sent into exile at ..... at Laleia and Manatuto were supposed to return by February, but their whereabouts are still unknown.

In Lospalos on February 24th 1985, four members of the population were arrested. Artinho Lopes of Bahuro, Martinho Dos Santos From Rasa, a resident of Bahuro, Adolfo Portelo from Luarai and Alarico Cabrai of Ilalafai, a resident of Bahuro. According to information received from the prison, they are being subjected to electric shocks and burnt with cigarette butts on all parts of their bodies. At this stage they aren't interrogated, instead Indonesians use the technique of brain washing as follows: You're being tortured because of Fretilin. If you had not been working for Fretilin you wouldn't be suffering. You should hate Fretilin because they make you suffer.

The prisoners are kept in that situation for more than a month after which they will be subjected to interrogation which will ensure confessions that lead to more arrests. The perpetrators of this are members of the RPKED security group.

On October 12th 1984 twenty six people from Aileu were arrested, beaten and submitted to violent methods of interrogation by members of the Indonesian battalion 507. At the end of December many of them were reported to have been transferred to Baucau and Dili. No-one knows exactly where they

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MAUHUNU (cont): are. Two of the most murderous battalions are 501 and 321, stationed at Venilale or..... They killed many members of the village population who were looking for food, even if they showed their authority to travel, the Suret ..... Card. In Baucau there are battalions 401, 410 and 403. In Lospalos battalions 100, 641 and 700. Apart from massacres, these battalions have also destroyed the farms of the people.

MARK AARONS: Mauhunu, deputy chief of staff of the Fretilin armed forces. An earlier message gave a picture of the consequences for East Timorese who resist the Indonesians.

TRANSLATION OF RADIO BROADCAST: In August 1983 a clandestine resistance network was discovered in Maupitine. The military commander of Lospalos ordered the imprisonment of thirty members of the population. After a long period of inhuman tortures the occupiers extracted the names of the resistance network organisers. The military commander then ordered the population of the five villages in the area to assemble for a reception for some foreign visitors. On that fateful 8th of December 1983 the population was ordered to present itself with their traditional drums. However, when the military commander appeared with the district head, ... and his deputy who is Montedo Lopez, the population was speechless. Instead of the foreign guests the five people responsible for the resistance organisation were brought out. They were tied up. Angelo Da Costas, 34 years of age; Alvaro Freitis 39; Leone De Oliveira, 42; all from the village of Maupitine; Alberto 46 from Vaidora, and Nimo 39 from Tetito. Then the murderous military commander of Lospalos ordered the collaborator Alvaro Freitis to cut off the five mens' heads. Alvaro Freitis took a knife and struck Angelo Da Costas three times. He failed to cut his head off. Then an Indonesian Nangala knife killer put an end to the five men. They faced death with courage and without crying out.

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TRANSLATION OF RADIO BROADCAST (cont): Indonesian officer forbade the population to cry and threatened them, accusing them all of being resistance members. He declared that if he learned of anyone else who supported the resistance they'd follow the same fate. The population was silent, heads bowed and motionless. The assassins were not yet satisfied. They forced the people to perform dances around the dead men. Anyone not participating was threatened with their fate.

MARK AARONS: Since the defeat of the original Fretilin leadership in early 1979 there have been numerous allegations that the Indonesian resettlement villages in East Timor are in fact concentration camps. Liem Soei Liong gives this description of their purpose.

LIEM SOEI LIONG: At the moment there are about 400 strategic hamlets built for East Timorese population, set up by the Indonesians. If you see how these strategic hamlets or concentration camps are set up, they are all totally new villages. In a sense there are two sides of the story about this. Of course in building new sites, the Indonesians have taken into consideration that move the population from their original site and place them in a different site, that in terms of security that's a good thing to do. So they are not familiar with the new place so it makes it more difficult to develop activities in terms of Fretilin activities.

On the other side in doing this, the Indonesians as we've seen with strategic hamlets in other parts of the world, of course it never works really, because in moving people from one side to the other, the grudge of the population only grow and of course then Fretilin manage to get contacts in this camp, then of course it's very easy for Fretilin to develop a structure, or a framework, in this camp.

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TRANSLATION OF RADIO BROADCAST: According to the Indonesians there are only 200 Fretilin guerillas. Fretilin affirms its willingness to accompany delegations of foreign journalists to visit the country camp by camp, village by village. If it is the will of the people of East Timor to integrate with Indonesia, Jakarta should not be afraid to approve such visits. As Fretilin constitutes only about 200 guerillas naturally they can't intimidate the population against their wishes. To Jakartans propagandists, such as Governor Mario .....who even state that if, under the supervision of the international community, the people of East Timor expressed the desire for integration, Fretilin would put down its arms. But we're absolutely sure, that even with these conditions, Jakarta won't be willing to open the doors of East Timor to independent observers. This is because Jakarta knows too well the feelings of the East Timorese people and therefore only opens the country to manipulated parties. The people suffer and are brutally tortured and decimated by repression because they are guilty of rejecting the foreign presence in their homeland. This is East Timor in the tenth year of national resistance to foreign military occupation. Homeland or death. To resist is to win. The struggle continues on all fronts.

MARK AARONS: Fretilin leader Mauhunu speaking last Monday. The re-establishment of the two way radio contact with Fretilin will ensure that a different version of events in East Timor is regularly available to the outside world. This is an important development for the situation. Even more remarkable is the fact that Fretilin was able to smuggle the radio transmitter into Timor, despite the severe blockade of that country. This would seems to indicate a level of sophisticated organisation, consistent with Liem Soei Liong's view that Fretilin's structure is well embedded in the Indonesian administration. But he sees problems for Fretilin in the re-organisation of the Indonesian armed forces announced earlier this year. Liem Soei Liong.

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LIEM SOEI LIONG: The Indonesian army is at the moment being re-organised, there's a big overhaul in the Indonesian army and one of the reasons why the Indonesian army is being re-organised drastically is because of the failure in East Timor. All military experts also from other countries agree that the Indonesian military performance in East Timor is really pitiful. And of course the Indonesian leaders of the army, like General Benny Murdani and so, realise of course that indeed the performances of the Indonesian army in East Timor are really pitiful if you compare the strength, in terms of numbers of the Indonesian army and in terms of arms. So before you can say the Indonesian army it's territorial structure was kind of based on a provincial structure. There were 16 military commands, and one of the 16 military commands was based in Bali and in that command also East Timor was part of this military command. In the new structure, the Indonesian army is more island based, so not province based any more. So they've squeezed down the number of 16 military commands into 9 military commands. The striking thing is that the military commands that have now to encounter with much larger areas. The only military command that has not been changed is of course the region where East Timor also is part of this, the region of what we call in Indonesia, Nusu Tenggara Timor, so the small islands from Bali till Timor. And of course we know the reason is because Fretilin's strength is still at the moment, or the Fretilin threat towards Indonesian security, is still regarded as the major threat in Indonesian, in the Indonesian army. In this new structure of the Indonesian army the population, the East Timorese population in the strategic hamlets, the 400 strategic hamlets, is indeed much more heavily guarded than before and therefore it is much more difficult for Fretilin nowadays to develop its contacts and to develop a good structure with the population. Of course they still have maintained their structures but it is much more difficult to maintain a good communication. The protection and the barbed wire and the fences is quite a problem for Fretilin and one of the major aims of this re-organisation of the Indonesian army

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LIEM SOEI LIONG (cont): like I mentioned before, is to develop a professional and modern army. Benny Murdani is very determined and by the end of 84 he has developed a squad called the Rapid Deployment Force, and it's a mobile force that can swiftly be air lifted from barracks in Java to East Timor.

TRANSLATION OF RADIO BROADCAST: People of Australia, friends, four decades ago Japanese expansionism trampled on Timor and caused great destruction in a war in which Timor's people were abandoned to hardship and their fate. During this period the sons of Australia fought side by side with the sons of East Timor. Here in our homeland, Australians and East Timorese died, linked by a common objective, to defeat Japanese expansionism, which was mutilating the values of freedom and which constituted a threat to peace. Some thirty years later, on December 7 1975, another expansionism, this time Indonesian, invaded our homeland with paratroopers. It filled our beaches with marines who cowardly violated the sovereignty of East Timor. Today in 1985, tens of thousands of Indonesian soldiers wearing berets of all colours, continue to occupy our homeland. The people of East Timor, relying on their own strength, continue to resist the violent whims of the times unshaken by the threat of their own total extermination.

The East Timorese have already made their choice. Homeland or death. People of Australia, friends, in the name of the small and defenceless people of East Timor, who are being barbarously exterminated with impunity, we appeal to the people of Australia to raise their voices in protest and condemnation against the continuing criminal Indonesian military occupation. We also appeal to the Australian Government to continue to support the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to obtain access to East Timor, for an independent mission of observers. In the name of the heroic people of East Timor we express trust that our appeals will be heard by the friendly people of Australia for their continuing solidarity with our just

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TRANSLATION OF RADIO BROADCAST (cont): struggle. Homeland or death. Long live the just struggle of the East Timorese people. The struggle continues. To resist is to win. General Headquarters of the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance in East Timor on February 13th 1985.

Signed: ..... Xanana Gusmao,
Commander in Chief